The Trade Union Unity League

Affiliated to R. I. L. U.

Its Program, Structure, Methods and History



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Published by the
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2 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK

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UNDER capitalism in the United States, as under capitalism all over the world, the benefits of the great industrial system flow into the hands of a small rich class. The capitalists, who own the industries, by this very ownership of the means of producing social necessities, compel the great masses of workers to sell their labor power for a meagre livelihood and to turn over to the owning, ruling class, the tremendous surplus value they produce. The very basis of capitalist society is the exploitation of the workers for the benefit of the capitalists.

The current stories of the widespread distribution of wealth in the United States are mere propaganda to justify this capitalist exploitation and to cover up the poverty of the masses. On the one hand, there is a relatively small group of rich capitalists and, on the other, a great mass of impoverished workers, with large numbers of petty shopkeepers, farmers, etc., in between. For every billionaire Morgan, Mellon, Ford, or Rockefeller, there are scores of thousands of poverty-stricken workers.

According to the figures of the United States Federal Trade Commission, 1 per cent of the population owns 33 per cent of the national wealth, and less than 25 per cent own 90 per cent. There are 275 American capitalists with an income of more than $1,000,000 per year. Never were the profits of the capitalists who own and rule the country so great as now. In 1928, the General Motors Company made record-breaking dividends of $276,468,100. The Class I railroads in 1929 will produce fabulous dividends of $1,284,000,000, which will flow into the hands of the railroad capitalists. In 1928, 900 leading corporations showed an increase of 14 per cent in profits over the amount made by them in 1927.

THE TWO CLASSES

By reason of these tremendous profits, wrung from the toil and hardships of the workers, the American capitalist class now revels in luxury absolutely undreamed of in any previous era of the world's history. The capitalists who own the industries and force the workers to work for them for only a fraction of what they

actually produce, live lives of idleness and profligacy. For them the problem is to find new ways to satisfy their jaded taste with the vast flood of riches stolen from the working class through the operation of the capitalist system.

On the other hand, the masses of workers, the useful producers in society who are driven to the limit in industry and subjected to oppression of every kind, live in poverty. According to Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, 93,000,000 of the people have an average income of only $500 per year. Whole categories of the workers live in deepest privation. Hundreds of thousands of miners are literally on the verge of starvation. Over 200,000 railroad workers receive only $17 per week.

In the textile industry the average wage is but from $15 to $18 per week. According to the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, the general average weekly wage in the country of "common labor," figuring on a full time basis and discounting unemployment, is only $24 per week, or $1,200 per year. Compare this figure with the annual living budget of $1,880 for a family of 5, worked out by the National Industrial Conference Board (a capitalist institution) in 1926, on the basis of New York conditions. It is found, therefore, that the masses of workers are living on standards which deny them the actual necessities of life.

BITTER EXPLOITATION

Capitalism bitterly exploits the women workers, of whom there are 8,500,000 all told. It forces them to work for an average wage of 30 per cent less than men workers in similar occupations. It forces upon them conditions destructive to their health and vitality. The youth are also the object of special exploitation by the capitalists. They are compelled to work for lower wages and under generally worse conditions than adult workers. Child labor is still rampant in a country producing such vast masses of commodities that it cannot find markets to consume them. Foreign-born workers are also especially exploited and discriminated against.

In the south the workers generally are more bitterly exploited than in any other part of the country. They are forced to work for from 20 to 50 per cent lower than workers in the north. For example, a steel worker in Pennsylvania receives 45 cents an hour and one in Alabama only 28 cents. The 10 to 13 hour day prevails in

the midst of a general situation of near-peonage throughout the south.

OPPRESSION OF NEGROES

But the most bitterly exploited and oppressed sections of the American working class are the Negroes. They are not only forced to accept the poorest jobs and the lowest wages, but are systematically discriminated against in every way. By the system of lynching, Jim-Crowism, segregation, political disfranchisement, etc., capitalism sets aside the Negroes as Pariahs, as objects of special victimization. The persecution and oppression of the American Negroes are unequalled in any industrial country in the world.

The standards of living of the working class despite the tremendous increases in industrial productivity and notwithstanding all the capitalist propaganda to the contrary, tend to decline. The advantages of improved production flow, by the operation of the capitalist system itself, into the hands of the employers who own the industries. Wage cuts are the order of the day in the various industries, such as mining, textile, needle, shoe, automobile, etc. The present tariff law will further increase the rising cost of living. All these conditions will be intensified by the oncoming economic crisis.

The workers' percentage of what they produce constantly becomes less. Long hours and overwork are the rule in industry; 60 per cent of the workers toil more than 48 hours per week, in an industrial system that could produce all necessities of life and with higher standards of living, in half this working time. Unemployment has become chronic, there now being a permanent standing army of more than 3,000,000 unemployed and the condition grows steadily worse. Sickness and accidents mount rapidly because of speed-up conditions in the industries.

The workers are literally burned up in the rapidly increasing industrial pace. "Over production and starvation, over time and unemployment" are the fruits of the capitalist system for the workers. On the farms the conditions of the wage workers and small farmers are equally bad. The agricultural workers everywhere work for the lowest wages. The small farmers are in the grip of the bankers and big trusts. Tenancy is vastly on the increase, mortgages multiply, despite fake farm relief projects. The toilers on the farms sink deeper into poverty. The parasitic capitalist class, the

bankers and the big land owners, bleed and exploit them to the bone, even as they do the workers in the industries.

Capitalism not only reduces the workers to wage slavery and makes them toil in poverty for the benefit of the rich parasites who own the industries, but it also uses these masses for cannon fodder in the great wars it periodically carries on to further its world-wide programs of exploitation. Capitalism burns up the lives of the workers simply for the enrichment and happiness of the few who own the industries.

The United States Government is the great instrument of the American ruling class to maintain this system of capitalist exploitation. Its chief function is to hold the masses of workers in subjection to the capitalists. The capitalists own and control the Government. The two big parties are controlled by the employers, and even the Socialist Party, as we shall see further on, is their little brother. The Senate and House are essentially representatives of trustified capital. The democratic pretenses of the Government are only a sham to cover up its capitalistic character. When the workers seek to improve their conditions through strikes and labor organization, the United States Government, true to its role as protector of the interests of the capitalist class, militantly suppresses these movements by police, injunctions, troops, etc.

II. American Imperialism

American capitalism is imperialistic. By its very nature, the American capitalist system cannot confine its operations within the boundaries of the United States. An inseparable part of world capitalism, it is inextricably bound up with the imperialistic struggles of the various capitalist powers.

Capitalism in the United States today is monopoly capitalism. The small production and distribution units have been completely or are being rapidly wiped out by the process of trustification. Industrial capital has gradually merged with finance capital. The great banks control the entire capitalist system. Finance capital, based on trustified industry, rules the country.

Finance monopoly capital is imperialistic. It heaps up vast amounts of capital wrung from the exploitation of the workers, and for which it cannot find profitable investment in the United States,

the great bankers must seek opportunities to invest this capital in foreign countries. Capital investment abroad has thus become a fundamental necessity for the United States. Before 1914, the United States had only $2,500,000,000 invested abroad, now it has $27,000,000,000, and it is increasing this amount at the rate of about $2,000,000,000 per year. This vast export of American capital flows into foreign government loans, mines, railroads, public utilities, plantations, and foreign industries, in markets all over Europe. Over $5,000,000,000 of these investments have gone into Latin America, $5,000,000,000 into Canada, and $15,000,000,000 to Europe. Export of capital is the decisive mark of imperialism.

STRUGGLE FOR MARKETS

Because it produces vast mountains of commodities which its underpaid workers at home, robbed of the surplus value they produce, cannot buy back, American trustified capital is compelled to seek markets in other countries. The general excess production capacity of American industrial plants is 25 per cent over the demands of the national market, and the percentage is increasing because of increasing productivity and the growing impoverishment of the workers. In many industries the 25 per cent rate is far exceeded. In the shoe industry the existing factories can produce 730,000,000 pairs of shoes per year while the market demands only 300,000,000. This excess production and plant capacity forces the United States into the struggle for world markets. Exports have increased from $1,394,000,000 in 1920 to about $5,000,000,000 in 1928. This situation is intensified by the industrialization of the South. The opening up of coal mines, textile plants, etc., in this territory, results in the closing of similar industries in the North, thus still further increasing the contradictions in American capitalism and forcing it sharper than ever into the struggle for world markets.

COLONIAL POLICY

American tristified capitalism must also find new sources of raw materials for its industries. It needs rubber, oil, nitrates, and many other basic elements of production. It moves to get control of these not only through its foreign investment policies but through actual seizure of countries as colonies (Philippines, Cuba, Porto Rico, etc.) or practical domination of their governments (Panama, Nicaragua, Haiti, Chili, etc.). The American imperialists institute the most

rigorous slave-like exploitation of the workers n these countries (the rubber plantations of Ford in Brazil, Firestone in Liberia, etc., etc.).

These powerful forces, the need for fields of capital investment abroad, the need for markets to dispose of its vast surplus of commodities, the need for supplies of raw materials for its industries, make American monopoly capitalism imperialistic and force it upon the path of struggle against other great imperialist powers for world hegemony. American capitalism is American imperialism. American imperialism, because of its great resources, is the leading system of world imperialism. It aims not only at making slaves of the vast armies of workers in this country, but at subordinating whole sections of the world's population to its exploitation.

IMPERIALIST GREED

In Latin America American imperialism pursues a ruthless policy of economically and politically subordinating the various countries, using armed forces, as in Nicaragua, when necessary to accomplish its ends. It tries to make a great hinterland of Central and South America. It seeks to get a firm grip financially and politically with its Dawes' Plan, Young Plan, etc. Swollen with fatal imperialistic greed and ambition, its grasping program knows no limits. To carry through this grandiose plan of world domination and exploitation, all the capitalist institutions in the United States at present are molded and manipulated. Press, Church, State, radio, A. F. of L., etc., are pressed into the service of imperialism. The program of American imperialism affects the workers' lives fundamentally in every direction.

III. The Rationalization of Industry

In order to enable it to compete against its powerful capitalist rivals—Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, etc.—in the world's markets and to increase its fabulous profits generally, American imperialism, like the capitalist rival countries, is developing the most intense speed-up and exploitation of the workers in the industries. In the United States this speed-up or rationalization of industry, has proceeded further and more disastrously for the workers than anywhere else. The lives of American workers are literally being destroyed in the factories in the mad rush of the capitalists for intensified production and ever-swollen profits.

This modern speed-up, or rationalization of industry, is a new and terrible evil forced upon the working class by the capitalists. Worsening the conditions of the workers' lives in every direction, it challenges the masses to immediate, militant, organized mass struggle against the whole capitalist system. The greater productivity of the workers is achieved primarily by speeding them faster and faster.

SPEED-UP

The increases in productivity of the workers under the rationalization speed-up drive are almost incredible. In 1927, American factories produced 28 per cent more than they did in 1919, although during the same period the number of workers engaged in these industries had decreased 980,000. From 1914 to 1925, the productivity of the workers of the steel industry increased 53 per cent, automobile 210 per cent, cement 57 per cent, lumber 211 per cent, flour 39 per cent. All other industries show similar tremendous increases in productivity. Recently, President Hoover declared that in the last dozen years the population of the country has increased 17 per cent and the productivity of the workers 35 per cent.

In the individual industries new driving methods and radical changes in production are constantly increasing the productivity of the workers. In 1927, the railroads, with 200,000 less workers than in 1919, carried a vastly increased traffic. Modern machine equipped mines in Southern Illinois produce as much coal with one-third the number of their former crews. Automatic telephones are displacing tens of thousands of telephone operators. The "stretch-out" system in the textile mills of the South forces the workers to produce from 100 per cent to 200 per cent more than a couple of years ago. Three firemen of a modern liner replace 120 stokers. One switching-tower machine replaces 400 workers. New machines are eliminating telegraphers, typists, musicians, etc. The masses in the industries are driven to the breaking point by all kinds of bonus and piece-work systems.

SPEED-UP ON FARMS

On the farms the speed-up also makes its way, through combined harvesters, tractors, chain farms, horseless farms, etc. In 1850, one agricultural worker cultivated 12 acres, in 1920—34 acres.

On the farms there has been an increase of 10 per cent in the productivity per worker in 10 years. The displaced farm workers flock to the cities and swell the army of unemployed. American industrial life presents a veritable orgy of production, with the armies of workers being driven like mad for the benefit of their employers, and then thrown ruthlessly upon the scrap heap when they can produce no more.

The rationalization drive of the capitalists in industry is accompanied by a general worsening of the workers' conditions, despite the vastly increasing productivity of these workers. The tremendously increased volume of production goes to enrich the capitalists and their middle-class hangers on. Real wages are on the decline. American workers receive a smaller share of what they produce than the workers of any country in the world. Their dividends are greater as workers in the intense speed-up and they receive less than ever.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Chronic unemployment is one of the many evil fruits of rationalization. Vast numbers of workers are being thrown into permanent joblessness. In the past 8 years over 900,000 workers have been displaced from the manufacturing industries, 800,000 from agriculture, 300,000 from the railroads, etc. Mr. Ethelbert Stewart says that although production has increased in manufacturing industries 30 per cent from 1925 to 1928, there are 12 per cent less workers engaged in these industries. At the present time there are between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 workers permanently unemployed in the United States Although these workers are willing to work and are in urgent need of commodities of all kinds, the chaotic capitalist system can give them no work because it cannot find markets for the great surplus value they produce over what they receive in wages.

Sickness and accidents are enormously on the increase in the industries because of the terrific strain of rationalization. Workers at the age of 40 in American industries are about ready for the scrap heap and the poor-house. According to United States government figures there are 25,000 fatal and 2,500,000 minor accidents yearly in American industries. Deadly diseases of all kinds multiply and increase. The myriads of workers thrown out of employment and incapacitated by sickness and accidents through the

intense rationalization of industry are entirely without social insurance. The United States has the shameful distinction of being the most backward of all industrial countries in the matter of state benefits for unemployment, old age, sickness, accidents, etc.

HEAVY ATTACKS

Capitalist rationalization means heavy attacks to destroy or undermine labor unionism. In order to carry through their ruthless rationalization of industry, it is necessary that the employers break the organized power of the workers. The employers' aim is to get into their hands complete control over the establishment of all conditions in industry, and to reduce the workers to a mass of robots, whose sole function is to slave out their lives for the benefit of their employers. With this aim in mind the great capitalists have shattered the old trade unions in the basic sections of mining, textile, marine transportation, railroad, lumber, steel, meat packing, and other industries, and those conservative unions which they have not seen fit to destroy they have reduced practically to a status of company unionism.

To poison the minds of the masses, to enveigle them into the capitalist speed-up system or at least to paralyze them in the face of the capitalist rationalization, the employers are carrying on a gigantic system of propaganda and illusory concessions. They have set up a whole complicated system of company unionism, employers' stock-buying, welfare work, company sports, company journals, etc. The latest of these schemes are Raskob's plan of instalment investment in industry and Hoover's fake program of unemployment relief. These capitalistic duperies for the workers are defended by a vast school of capitalist economists, such as Tugwell, Carver, Lauck, Chase, etc. They are designed to confuse the masses, to create prosperity illusions amongst the workers, to blind them to the necessity for militant unions and struggle against capitalism, and to make them pin their faith in a capitalist system which has nothing to offer them except long hours, low wages, unemployment, general worsening conditions, and the terrible slaughter of modern war.

IV. The War Danger

The world struggle of American imperialism for markets, for capital investment, and for new sources of supply of industrial raw materials, brings it into violent conflict with the other imperi-

alist powers. Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Italy, etc. who are also struggling for these same ends. The antagonisms between the imperialist powers over economic questions lead inevitably to the development of war. In the present situation with these imperialist rivalries sharpening on all fronts, the world is making rapidly towards a new war situation. This is intensified by their increasing military pressure on the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, to seize their resources. The imperialist powers are fighting for a repartition of the whole world colonial domain.

WORLD RIVALRIES

The United States, confronted with the most imperative necessity to dispose of the products of its industry at home, to invest its mountainous capital, etc., is compelled to battle vigorously against its powerful imperialist opponents in all the markets of the world. They resist desperately its every imperialistic step forward. It especially comes into conflict with Great Britain in Latin America, Canada, India, China, Australia, and in Europe itself. Great Britain militantly resists the United States' efforts to displace it as the leading imperialist country, and prepares feverishly for war with America. The United States, like other capitalist countries, is prepared to defend its investments abroad, and to battle for the world's markets by force of arms against its competitors. With such ends in mind, all the capitalist powers get ready on a gigantic scale for the world war they know to be imminent. World politics now consists principally of maneuverings of these great powers for economic advantage and for fresh line-ups in preparation for the impending world struggle.

BASIC ANTAGONISM

But the most fundamental of all the antagonisms which create the danger of international war is the attack of the foreign capitalist countries upon the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the advanced section of the world proletarian revolution which will finally wipe out the whole capitalist system of exploitation. The imperialist powers understand this thoroughly and they are determined to crush the Soviet Government at all costs.

In 1918-1920 the powers, including the United States, sent their armies to smash the Soviet Government, but without success. The Russian workers and peasants were victorious in the armed struggle. Then the imperialist powers set up an economic blockade against Soviet Russia, shutting off exports and imports to that country, thus trying to starve out the people, bu again without success. The Russian workers and peasants, in spite of unparalleled famine, sickness and hardship, went steadily ahead building their revolutionary social system and serving as an inspiration to the workers of the world. They have abolished private ownership of industry, they have set up a scientifically planned national economy. They have ended the exploitation of the workers. They have set up a general seven-hour day and the most comprehensive system of social insurance in the world.

SOVIET SUCCESSES

The Russian workers have registered success after success in the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union. Industry is rapidly expanding; the standards of living of the workers are constantly improving. The new Five-Year Plan of economic development, to be completed by 1933, is unparalleled in the history of any country. This plan calls for an investment of $33,000,000,000 in industrial expansion, two and one-half times the amount invested in the past five years. Scores of steel mills, chemical works, power plants, etc., are being built. Four million workers will be added to the payrolls; industrial production will reach three times the pre-war rate and that of agriculture will be doubled. The output of coal will be increased to 230 per cent of pre-war. The yearly increase of mechanical power per head of the workers in the next five years will be 35 per cent, while in the U. S. it averages only 10 per cent. The chemical industry will be increased 3½ times. Great automobile and tractor plants are being built. The industrial system generally will be electrified by the completion of the tremendous electric power plants now being constructed. The Soviet Union will be the third nation in producing pig-iron and the fourth in coal. Real wages of workers will be increased 71 per cent. The rate of industrial growth in the Soviet Union under the five-year plan will be 27 per cent per year, whereas the most favorable rate ever achieved by any capitalist country was only 8 per cent. The realization of the great Five-Year Plan will enable the Soviet Union to reach and outstrip the technically and economically most advanced countries. Great state and collective farms are taking the place of the primitive, individualistic agricultural system. There will be tremendous

further improvements made in education, and the general standards of the workers. The Soviet Union is now experiencing the greatest industrial and social advance ever made by any nation.

SOVIET PROGRESS

In connection with the tremendous progress being made at the stupendous task of socializing agriculture, pronounced impossible by all capitalist economists, the New York *Times*, August 23, 1929, says of the building of the big modern, collective farms:

"These efforts were so successful that in Russia proper (R. S. F. S. R.) collective farms were planned to number 7,000 by June 1st, but actually they numbered 11,340. They were planned to cover 780,000 hectares and actually covered 4,000,000. In this coming year instead of 4,000,000 hectares under collective farming in the R. S. F. S. R., there will be 13,000,000, which compares startingly with the 5-year estimate of 20,000,000 at the end of 1933."

Such great progress is now being made in the realization of this 5-Year Plan that it is expected to be completed in four years.

DOOM OF BOSSES

In this building of Socialism by the Russian workers, the capitalist nations see their own doom. It proves that, despite the croakings of capitalist economists and Social Democrats, the workers can and are reconstructing and developing industry and agriculture on a Socialist basis. The capitalists know that their own workers will eventually follow the same path to emancipation. Hence their undying hatred of the Soviet Union and their unshakable determination to crush it, if they can. Their great maneuver now internationally is to develop a united front against the Soviet Union. The United States plays a leading role in this developing attack against the Soviet Government. The United States is the world center of capitalism; the Soviet Union is the world center of the revolutionary workers. The imperialist powers have turned the Russian border states, Poland, Rumania, etc., into armed camps and await only a favorable opportunity to attempt a fresh military invasion of the Soviet Union.

These imperialist powers were the real force behind the recent seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria by the Chinese nationalists, and the provocation of war between the Soviet Union and China. They believe this will give them their awaited chance to assault the Soviet Government. Such a capitalist attack on the Soviet Union will be resisted not only by the Russian workers but by the working class generally and it will lead to wide revolutionary struggles directed against the capitalist system.

Preparing for new world wars against each other, against the colonial peoples, and against the Soviet Union, the imperialist powers are now arming frenziedly. Military and naval preparations are going ahead at an unheard of pace. Expenditures for war armament by the leading powers far exceed those of pre-war times. In 1929, the United States is spending nearly $800,000,000 for its war preparations, three times the pre-war amount; Great Britain is spending $550,000,000; France, $500,000,000; Japan, $235,000,000, etc.

The war that these great powers are consciously preparing will be far more terrible and devastating than the last world slaughter. Whole populations can be wiped out almost at a moment's notice by the new and terrible war machinery. The next war will be especially a war in the air and with chemicals. Since the last war aeroplane developments has made tremendous strides. Not only has the number of planes been vastly increased, but also their power and range. In 1914, aeroplanes averaged 130 horse-power and flew 80 miles per hour; now they go to 2,500 horse-power and fly up to 300 miles per hour.

DEADLY POWER

In the last war the aeroplanes dropped bombs only as large as oranges, now their bombs weigh 2 tons and are filled with explosives vastly more devastating. Gases have been invented so terribly destructive and diabolical as to make gas masks useless to protect soldiers from their deadly fumes. Besides, bombs have been constructed to spread germs of anthrax, yellow fever, typhus, plague, cholera, etc., for murderous attacks upon whole civilian populations. A fleet of aeroplanes armed with such deadly weapons could wipe out a city like London in an hour's time, leaving nothing alive. There is no known practical defense against fleets of such deadly aeroplanes.

All other branches of war armaments, submarines, tanks, etc., have likewise become increasingly deadly. Moreover, the entire industrial systems of the respective imperialist powers are being scientifically mobilized for the production of war materials. The whole populations in the imperialist countries are subjected to an unheard of military propaganda and war organization. The most aggressive country in all these war preparations is the United States, which is now making its great bid for control of the world.

To cover up these vast world war preparations the various governments systematically resort to peace maneuvers, such as limitation of armament conferences, Kellogg Peace Pacts, League of Nations covenants, international arbitration, etc. These maneuvers are for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of the people, to hide from them the war that is preparing, and to prevent them from taking action against it. Their aim is not to stop the war, but to build a smoke screen before it.

FAKE PEACE MOVES

The closer the war, necessarily the more "peace" maneuvers. This was also the case just prior to the last world war. The hypocrisy of such peace maneuvers is emphasized by the refusal of the capitalist powers to accept the recent proposals of the Soviet Government for a general disarmament.

The pacifists, especially the Socialists all over the world, are the most important aides of the capitalists in preparing the world war. They deceive the masses as to what is actually taking place and create among them illusions of peace. They are a definite part of the war machine. The world confronts the danger of a new war, far more terrible than the recent world struggle. The capitalists are preparing to slaughter millions of workers in their unsatiable greed for power and world domination, and the Social Reformists are their principal aides.

In the present period the world crisis of capitalism sharpens in every direction. More and more unemployment in the various countries, intensified class struggles, keener struggles for world markets, feverish preparations for war. Despite the capitalist and reformist propagandists, the United States is no exception to this crisis. It is part of the world capitalist system, irrevocably bound up with the contradictions of that system and doomed along with it.

V. State Capitalism and Fascism

American imperialism in order to more effectively exploit the American workers, to compete in the foreign markets, and to prepare for the developing world war, is now consolidating its forces nationally into a system of state capitalism. The trend towards state capitalism is marked by great mergers in finance and industry; such as the $2,100,000,000 consolidation of the National City Bank and the Farmers Loan and Trust Company; the $1,900,000,000 merger of the Guaranty Trust Company with the National Bank of Commerce, the gigantic consolidation among the railroads, and a widespread trustification of other industries.

MERGERS

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company is a $4,000,000,000 concern, the largest in the world. The General Motors Company's stock is valued at $4,160,000,000 on the open market. There are also great mergers amongst the chain stores, etc., etc. These combines wipe out vast numbers of store keepers, etc., and force them into the working class. The banks control this gigantic industrial machine. The finance capitalists rule America. The Government is their executive committee. The financial-industrial system is being literally built into the capitalist government by such institutions as the Federal Reserve Bank, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Farm Board, etc., and by such big business men as Mellon, Young, Dawes, Hoover, etc., taking over in person the actual direction of the government. American capitalism, to fight and exploit the working class at home and to defeat its rivals abroad, becomes trustified on every front, with the government at the top directing and protecting this vast system of exploitation, oppression and militarization. Similar developments in the direction of state capitalism are also taking place in the other imperialist countries and for the same reasons.

Fascism is another deadly fruit of capitalism in this imperialist era. In many European countries, Italy, Spain, Poland, Rumania, Jugoslavia, etc., etc., where the capitalist governments confronted deep growing economic crises and revolutionary upheavals of the workers and peasants in the past decade, the capitalists and big land owners, with support of large sections of the middle class, abolished the existing systems of government and set up fascist

dictatorships. These fascist governments, wiping out all pretense at democracy, proceed with fire and sword against the workers, smashing their Communist Parties, trade unions, cooperatives, etc., and subjecting the masses to the most brutal terrorism and exploitation. Over 150,000,000 people are now living in Europe under fascist dictatorship.

SOCIAL FASCISM

In England, Germany, France, and other highly industrialized countries, although fascism has not become the dominant form of capitalist government and exploitation, there are marked fascist tendencies in evidence. These take two forms, direct, open fascism and social fascism. Open fascism is the brazen, Mussolini brand. Social fascism is the development of the Social Democratic Parties and trade unions in the direction of fascism: that is, into instruments for the increased suppression and exploitation of the workers. The role of the Social Democrats is as feeders to fascism. Not only do these Social Democrats now take on more the character of fascism, become Social Fascists, but when open fascism appears they break up the workers' opposition to it by minimizing its importance and extent and by preventing open armed struggle against it. And when fascism seizes power the Social Democrats surrender to it as they did in Italy and many other countries, and, finally, when fascism in power can eventually no longer control the masses by violence and terrorism, the Social Democrats then step in and make a maneuver to save capitalism by setting up a system of fascism masked with pretenses of democracy. The only way the fascist movement can be defeated is by an open struggle against it and its Social Democratic allies. Fascism is an increasing world danger, the capitalists turning more and more to its methods as their social system gets into deeper and deeper difficulties and they are confronted with an ever more radical working class. In the United States, there is a strong propaganda for fascism amongst the foreign-born which is cultivated by their respective fascist national governments: Italian, Bulgarian, Polish, etc. More and more in the struggles of the workers the capitalists use fascist methods of terrorism as in Gastonia, the N. Y. needle trades, etc. There are also many tendencies developed by American capitalism which lead in the direction of fascism, such as the degeneration or fascistization of the trade

union leadership, the widespread nationalist and patriotic propaganda, etc. All that is necessary for such tendencies to develop into open fascism is the inevitable serious economic and political crisis. Then there will be a quick, poisonous growth of fascism. The danger of fascism, which has produced such disastrous results in European countries, must be combatted militantly by American workers.

VI. Betrayal By A. F. of L. and S. P. Leaders

A. F. OF L. AGENTS

In the midst of this intense capitalist rationalization and war preparations, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and their Socialist allies are showing themselves more clearly than ever to be agents of the capitalists in the ranks of the working class. The general result of their activities is to disorganize and demoralize large sections of the workers in the face of the destructive capitalist offensive. They are the instruments for the furtherance of the whole capitalist program of exploitation at the expense of the workers.

The A. F. of L. leaders have become brazen speed-up tools of the bosses. They have practically degenerated the old trade unions into mere adjuncts of the capitalist producing mechanism. Their gospel is for more and more production, just like the efficiency engineers of the employers. President Green of the A. F. of L. says: "The union is the workers' business agency for industrial efficiency"; that is, a part of the bosses' organization. The A. F. of L. leaders aim to substitute the trade unions for the company unions by practically turning the trade unions into company unions. They have abandoned all pretense of struggle against the bosses. They have discarded the strike as an obsolete method. Their policy, class collaboration, means to throw the workers helplessly to unbridled exploitation by the bosses. This subordination of the workers to the interests of the employers' speed-up and war program has become the central policy of the A. F. of L.

FETTERS

In putting the employers' speed-up program into effect, the trade union leaders, A. F. of L. and S. P., have adopted a whole series of measures designed to fetter and cripple the working class, such as the New Wage Policy, the B. & O. Plan, the Mitten Plan, the

Watson-Parker Law, Labor Banking, the new Federal Anti-Strike Law, the recent company union agreement with Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad, etc. These slave-like institutions and laws have nothing in common with a fighting policy and the defense of the workers' interests.

The trade union leaders also pick up and re-echo all the capitalist company union propaganda, designed to create prosperity illusions among the workers, to kill their fighting spirit, to weaken their organizations, and to draw them into the employers' speed-up program. The reactionary labor leaders are mere mouthpieces in the labor movement for the capitalist rationalization poison propaganda of the Hoovers, Catchings, Carvers, Laucks, etc. They are company unionizing the trade union movement and are becoming the fascist agents of the bosses.

REFORMIST DOCTRINES

The A. F. of L. and Socialist Party leaders are also the willing tools of the capitalists in their war preparations and general imperialist programs. Their Pan-American Federation of Labor, with its theory of the Monroe Doctrine of Labor, is simply an instrument to further the interests of American imperialism in Latin America. It mouths the slogans of the imperialists and paralyzes the Latin-American workers. The A. F. of L. policy towards the Soviet Union, China, etc., is nothing more or less than the policy of the U. S. State Department. The A. F. of L. supports every phase of the war program—militarism, pacifism and all—just as it is handed out by the bosses. They endorsed Coolidge's 15 Cruiser Bill; they are rabid supporters of the Citizen's Military Training Camps, etc., etc. Green, Woll & Co., with their Civic Federation affiliations, are the representatives of the finance capitalists in the ranks of the American workers. They are Social Imperialists and Social Fascists. They have reduced the A. F. of L. to being a cog in the employers' rationalization and war machines. In all this work they have had the support of the Socialists.

Every policy of the employers for exploiting and demoralizing the workers finds its echo in the program and practices of the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. leadership discriminates against the Negroes like the employers do, barring them from the unions and Jim-Crowing them in industry. They exclude Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans. They play off the skilled against the unskilled, one craft against another, and accept as their basic policy the employer-inspired policy of peddling off the interests of the great masses of unskilled for the sake of the aristocratic skilled workers. They sacrifice the interests of the unemployed for the employed, pushing the unemployed out of the unions and seeking to drive them out of the industries, as the bosses want. Note John L. Lewis' slogan that 300,000 workers must get out of the mining industry. They discriminate systematically against the foreign-born, the youth, and the women workers on the same general lines as the employers do.

They sell out and break strikes; they poison the minds of the workers with capitalist propaganda; they accept without change the tariff, trust, immigration and other policies of the capitalists. They act openly as the tools of the capitalist political parties; they are capitalist parasites preying on the masses of the workers. They look upon the labor movement as a means for them personally to grow rich, at the expense of the workers. A. F. of L. conventions are conventions of business men and political crooks, not of real leaders of labor. This system of misleadership is the most destructive of all the means that the capitalists have been able to devise for keeping the workers in subjection. It is poison in the very fiber of the working class.

SOCIALIST BETRAYALS

The Socialists, despite their clinging to a few antiquated radical phrases, are allied with the dominant A. F. of L. bureacracy in all this work of reaction. The old needle trades unions, which they control, are just as much the rationalization agencies of the bosses as are any A. F. of L. organizations. The Socialists are full supporters of the New Wage Policy and speed-up program of the A. F. of L. Hillman, Schlesinger are as much class collaborationists as Woll or Frey, but even more dangerous because of their radical phrases. Under their official leadership the conditions of the needle trades workers have been reduced practically to what they were 20 years ago. Wages have been slashed, hours lengthened, the speed-up introduced, sweat-shops re-established. The Socialists are likewise insidious and bitter enemies of the Soviet Union. They fall in step with the American imperialist war plans, just as their brother Socialists in Europe do with the war programs of the employers in their respective countries. They are demoralizers of

the workers, and all the more dangerous because of their pretenses at Socialism. In Milwaukee and Reading, where the Socialists have gained power, they have acted no different than their Republican and Democratic brothers. They arrested workers for demonstrating against war in Milwaukee, and in Reading they arrested workers for collecting money for Gastonia defense.

FAKE PROGRESSIVES

The so-called Muste opposition group in the old reformist trade unions, is simply a movement whose real purpose is to cover up the treachery of the official bureaucracy with radical slogans taken from the left-wing program. It aims at reestablishing the prestige and organizations of the discredited A. F. of L. leaders. The Muste group is an enemy of the militant trade union movement and a first aid to the corrupt A. F. of L. bureaucracy. It makes no fight against the A. F. of L. leaders and their reactionary practices but seeks to slur these over and to enveigle the masses of workers under the control of these reactionary fakers. Its real fight is against the whole policy of militant union struggle.

For years the Trade Union Educational League, now reorganized into the Trade Union Unity League, led the resistance against this whole policy of reaction in the trade unions, seeking to develop these organiaztions into real fighting bodies capable of defending the workers' interests. Its fight has been countered by the bureaucrats with a program of gangster terrorism, expulsion from the unions, and blacklist from the industries. The Socialist leaders distinguished themselves in this by their viciousness. In order to carry out the employers' program in the trade unions, the A. F. of L. and Socialist bureaucrats have wiped out democracy in the unions. They habitually cooperate with the police against the workers, as in the needle trades strikes in New York, etc. The employers, the Government, the Labor bureaucrats, and the Socialists comprise one general front against the workers in every important labor struggle, both within and without the old unions.

STRIKE-BREAKING POLICY

The A. F. of L. and Socialist leaders seek to extend their nefarious influence over the unorganized workers as well as the organized. Where masses of unorganized workers, or those organized

in the new revolutionary unions, strike against the intolerable conditions under which they work, the A. F. of L. is always on hand to act as a strike-breaking organization, as in the recent textile strikes in Elizabethton, Marion, and New Bedford, where the Musteites played the leading role in breaking the strike. The A. F. of L. has always followed a strike-breaking policy, but in this period of rapidly increasing discontent and sharpening struggles by the workers, these strike-breaking policies become more systematic and organized. In this period of rationalization and speed-up, of radicalization of the workers, the role of the A. F. of L. is a strike-breaking one. The employers are increasingly calling in the A. F. of L. to "organize" their workers in order to demoralize them and to defeat their battles for organization and better conditions. This tendency is exemplified in the South, where the slave-driving textile bosses are definitely using the A. F. of L. to break up the fight of their workers for real unionism through the National Textile Workers Union, and for radical improvements in wages and working conditions.

"MONDISM"

Wherever workers strike and the A. F. of L. steps into the struggle the effect is universally to shatter their efforts and to attempt to block their organization.

The rapid degeneration of the A. F. of L. leaders into the speed-up and war advocates of American imperialism is part of a world-wide development among such misleaders. In all capitalist countries the social-refromist leaders, with their speed-up schemes of Mondism, industrial democracy, etc., and their support of capitalist war programs, have become more openly than ever the agents of the capitalist class in their respective countries. The Labor Government of Great Britain, and the "Socialist" government of Germany, both of which are based upon policies of rationalization and imperialist war preparations, are merely the political expression of the general surrender of the conservative labor leaders to the capitalists. The German "Socialist" government is busy building up the German navy. The British Labor government by its activities in India, Egupt, in the Reparations Conference, etc., shows itself just as imperialistic as the Baldwin Tory Government. These are both capitalist governments.

VII. The Class Struggle Industrial Union Movement

The experiences of many years have shown the inability of the A. F. of L. to organize and lead the masses. Only 3,000,000 out of at least 20,000,000 organizable workers have been brought into the old unions. The bulk of those organized are skilled workers in the lighter and less trustified industries, such as printing, building, amusement trades, etc. The great masses of workers in the basic industries of steel, railroads, chemicals, automobiles, mining, electrical manufacturing, marine transportation, etc., remain almost entirely unorganized. The A. F. of L. makes no fight to organize or to defend the interests of these workers. It fundamentally bases itself upon the skilled aristocracy of labor and systematically sells out the highly exploited semi-skilled and unskilled workers. It cannot organize the vast masses in the basic industries.

The present situation exposes more completely than ever the political bankruptcy of the American Federation of Labor and emphasizes the imperative necessity for a new system of labor unionism. Under the pressure of capitalist rationalization, unemployment and low wages, great masses of workers in the basic and trustified industries are beginning to stir and to develop organization and struggle. Impossibly hard conditions make it necessary that the workers fight against their employers. The speed-up, unemployment, low wages, etc., are producing their inevitable reaction of struggle among the workers. The rationalization of industry means inevitably the radicalization of the workers. The social reformists of all shades and complexions try to milimize this radicalization, try to put the best possible face on the situation for capitalism. But the workers are unquestionably constantly developing radicalization and increasingly taking up the struggle against the terrible capitalist rationalization in all seriousness and determination.

UPHEAVALS IN SOUTH

Evidences of the growing radicalization, organization, and struggle of the workers are to be seen on all sides by strikes and movement in the coal mining, automobile, needle trades, shoe, meat-packing and many other industries. The American working class which capitalist apologists thought would sleep on forever, is beginning to awaken. It is going over on an offensive against its capitalist exploiters.

This radicalization of the working class, under the pressure of rationalization, is especially dramatized by the great upheaval in the South, centering in Gastonia, and climaxing in the efforts of the textile mill operators to electrocute and send to prison 23 workers, almost entirely American, are in most active struggle against their employers. They are the very symbol of the growing discontent of the workers, not only in the newly industrialized sections of the South, but also of all American industries.

The growing radicalization of American workers is a part of even more intense world-wide radicalization of the working class in the face of intensified capitalist exploitation, and which is marked by the gigantic strikes in Germany, France, England, Poland, Bulgaria, India, etc. The world's workers are developing a fresh revolutionary offensive against the capitalist system.

OLD CRAFT LINES

The reformist trade unions, with their antiquated craft forms and practices, corrupt leaders, and policies of collaboration with the policies of collaboration with the employeds, cannot lead these growing struggles of the masses. The A. F. of L. participates in such struggles only to betray them. The trustification of industry, the eliminiation of skill, and diminution of wage and other differences between skilled and unskilled, the intense rationalization of industry, narrow the base of the A. F. of L. and force its leaders completely into the service of the employers. In face of the imperative need of the masses to organise and struggle, the old c raft unionism of the A. F. of L. is worse than obsolete. This craft unionism is a hinderance to the development of the organization and struggles of the working class.

A new and revolutionary system of labor unionism is necessary. This new unionism, born of the stern needs of the workers, is now beginning to take shape. That is the most important part of present labor history. Within the past eighteen months industrial unions, based upon the principles of the class struggle, have been born in the coal, mining, textile, needle trades, automobile, shoe, and marine transportation industries. These are taking the lead of the struggles of the masses in their respective industries. They are the immediate forerunners of similar organizations in all the important unorganized and semi-organized industries.

NEW UNIONISM

The new unionism bases itself upon the experience of the class struggle. Its slogan is "class against class." It realizes that the interest of the workers are completely in opposition to those of the capitalists, and that an irreconcilable conflict goes on between the working class and capitalist class. It rejects collaboration with the employers, the A. F. of L. policy which paralyzes every effort of the workers to organize and defend themselves. It condemns arbitration, whether "voluntary" or compulsory, as a method of the employers to defeat the demands of the workers. Its foundation working principle is that the workers can secure from the employers only that which they have the power to take in active struggle. It organizes the workers and aggressively wages the class war, so that their maximum power may be brought to bear against the capitalist class. It supports the revolutionary political struggles and organization of the working class.

BASED ON UNSKILLED

The new unions are based, primarily upon the semi-skilled and unskilled masses, and fiight for the interests of the working class as a whole. These are the most exploited and most militant sections of the working class. The A. F. of L. program of basing the labor movement upon the skilled workers, a policy that was always wrong, is made increasingly disastrous and futile by the wholesale elimination of skill in the industries through standardization, specialization, mechanization, and a thousand other devices and efficiency systems. The A. F. of L. is founded on the diminishing labor aristocracy; the new unionism bases itself upon the expanding masses of unskilled and semi-skilled who are the decisive factor in modern industry.

The class struggle unions are industrial in structure, with an efficient departmentalization for the various industrial sections, and with special national and local sections for the youth and women. The new unions organize all sections of the workers: Negro, women, youth, skilled and unskilled. The great consolidation of the forces of imperialist capitalism makes industrial unionism imperative.

INDUSTRIAL FORM

Craft unionism, born in the early stages of capitalism, is at best helpless as a fighting movement in these days of monopoly

capitalist organization. It must be superseded by an all-inclusive industrial unionism. In the trustified industries, where 90 per cent. of the workers can learn their "trades" in a week, craft unionism is pitifully ridiculous.

The A. F. of L. system of one or more crafts striking while the rest work is a crime against the working class. It has lost thousands of strikes and done much to prevent growth of class solidarity.

Even in those industries which are most competitive in character, such as textile, needle, mining, etc., the great banks exert the controlling force, present a powerful front against the workers, and make industrial unionism absolutely necessary. Only by great mass movements, drawing in all the workers,—men, women, youth—and capable of paralyzing whole industries and groups of industries, can the workers make headway against the powerful employers, who are aided by the State and their social reformist labor leader allies. These strike movements must be highly militant, aggressive, and political in character. All struggles in the present era tend to take on a political nature by the State intervening more and more aggressively against the workers. The day of craft unionism has gone forever in American industry; the day of militant industrial unionism is here.

STRIKE STRATEGY

The new unions develop a revolutionary strike strategy. They are organizations seeking, not as the A. F. of L. unions, ways to surrender to the bosses, but to fight them. They study systematically the strength and maneuvers of the capitalist enemy and calculate the methods which will draw the masses of workers into the struggle, develop their initiative and turn their maximum power against the capitalists at the most opportune moment and in the most strategic place. A correct strike strategy involves a careful evaluation of all the experiences made by the workers in the class struggle. Especially it requires an attitude of self-criticism regarding mistakes made in the fight. Frank self-criticism is one of the foundation stones of the revolutionary industrial union movement.

The new unions discard the old local structure of the craft unions. They base themselves directly upon the stops, establishing shop committees, and the shop delegate system. The building of shop committees, the carrying on of union work directly in the

shop is fundamental. This draws the working masses directly into the life and struggles of the unions. The new unions eliminate the autocracy of the old unions and establish a real democracy among the workers. They wipe out the corrupting high salary practices of the old trade unions and pay their officials only the going wage of the industries. Instead of exorbitant dues and initiation fees, breeders of corruption and reaction, they have union charges within reach of the lowest paid workers. They systematically carry on a work of education of their general membership as to the real meaning of capitalism and the struggle of the workers to abolish it.

WORLD RISING

The new unionism in the United States is but the American expression of the new and higher forms of organization and struggle developed by the workers all over the world in the present rising wave of struggle. Among these are the movements to conquer the factory committees in Germany, the establishment of rank and file strike committees in Poland, etc., to take the strike leadership from the social reformists, the organization of workers defense corps against Fascist reformism, etc. Gastonia, where the workers defended themselves with guns in their hands, is an example of such more revolutionary methods in the United States.

The new unionism is international in character. It recognizes the common class interests of the wrokers of all countries and the necessity for a united struggle against international capitalism. It repudiates completely the nationalistic and patriotic stand of the reformist trade unions. It joins with all the militant labor movements of the world under the banner of the Red International of Labor Unions. The R.I.L.U. is the only revolutionary world union of workers. It is composed of all the revolutionary labor unions and minorities in the reformist unions. It makes war on world imperialism and its social-reformist allies. In every country its Unions are to be found in the very forefront of the class struggle. The new unions in the United States are part of this great world movement against capitalism.

REVOLUTIONARY GOAL

The new unionism sets itself a revolutionary goal. It points out the disaster of the capitalists owning the industries and operating

them for their own profit. It advocates that only by overthrow of the present system of capitalist ownership and exploitation and the establishment of a working class society in which production will be carried on, not for private profit, but for the social good,—can the workers improve their conditions and emancipate themselves. The American working class must follow the path beaten out by the Russian workers. Capitalism cannot furnish an improved standard of living for the workers. The workers have nothing to expect from capitalism but low wages, long hours, unemployment, speed-up, gradual worsening conditions, and war. They must aim at its overthrow.

The capitalist system is doomed. It cannot overcome its own inherent contradictions. The disparity between the mounting capitalist production of commodities and the growing inability of the markets under capitalism to absorb them, makes eventually for the shut-down of industry, mass unemployment, sharper and sharper economic crises, greater and greater class struggles, devastating world wars, and the eventual mobilization of the working class for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system.

SHARPENING FIGHT

The present period marks a sharpening of all these tendencies, not only in the European countries, but also in the United States.

Although the American capitalist system is still stronger than that of any European country, and the class struggle is less developed here, nevertheless the whole trend of capitalism toward a final crash is basically the same the world over. Decay eats at the heart of the apparently strong American imperialism. This is exemplified among other things, by the rapid growth of unemployment and the wide preparations for war. The program of the social reformists of patching up the decaying capitalistic system with various subterfuges is futile. It always boils down to the program of the capitalists for the maintenance of working-class exploitation in the face of the growing mass discontent. The new unions reject the perspective of preserving capitalism. They support the revolutionary struggles of the workers the world over. They aim to sharpen, deepen and unite the scattered economic struggles of the workers into a general political struggle aiming at the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

The Trade Union Unity League aggressively furthers the

organization of new revolutionary industrial unions in industries where there are no unions and in industries where the existing unions are corrupt and impotent. The organization of the masses into new unions stands in the very center of the T.U.U.L. program. But this does not imply a policy of petty splits and individual withdrawal of militant workers from the old trade unions where these have a mass character. Such a policy was one of the many serious mistakes of the I. W. W.

FIGHT IN OLD UNIONS

On the contrary, the TUUL organizes the left wing in these old unions and fights for their revolutionization. The skilled workers also feel the pressure of rationalization. Discontented masses in various of these unions look upon their official leaders with hatred and contempt as betrayers. They only require the occasion and effective leadership to develop serious struggles against the officialdom and employers. The T.U.U.L. fights in the old unions for their amalgamation through direct action of the masses against their leaders. It fights for a militant wage and strike policy in these organizations, and sets up rank and file strike committees against the official machinery of the bureaucrats. It struggles to break the alliance of the old unions with the capitalist parties and to draw them into working-class political struggles. It fights to rouse the organized masses for the defense of the Soviet Union and generally against impending imperialist war. It carries on a merciless struggle to eliminate the reactionary leaders from control of these unions and to defeat their program of class collaboration. It battles to wipe out the discrimination against Negro workers in the industries and in the unions. It struggles to draw the old organizations into closer relations, organizationally and ideologically, with the industrial union movement, against the unionism of the labor bureaucrats. The new union movement militantly battles for class, industrial unionism, both outside and inside the old unions. To carry out this program it follows a policy of making united fronts from the bottom with progressive workers against their slippery Musteite and A. F. of L. leaders. The T.U.U.L. will never surrender the old trade union organizations to the Green, Wool, Hilquit, Muste and Co., the labor agents of American imperialism.

VII. For the New Labor Union Center: The T.U.U.L.

The national center of the revolutionary industrial union movement in the United States is the Trade Union Unity League, organized in Cleveland, August 31st, 1929. The T.U.U.L. coordinates and binds all the revolutionary union forces into one united organization. It leads and directs the general struggle of the new union movement. It is the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Trade Union Unity League is the continuation, expansion, and reorganization of the Trade Union Educational League, which was organized in November, 1920. From date of its formation the TUEL carried on a militant struggle for revolutionary labor unionism. Its principal field of activities was inside the old unions, where it organized the left wing against the reactionary bureaucrats. It led a thousand fights against these misleaders, mobilizing th rank and file workers to struggle against their disruptive class collaboration policy, and for a program of class struggle.

ROLE OF T. U. E. L.

The Trade Union Educational League played a prominent role in all the strikes and labor struggles of the period since it was organized, consistently battling against the corrupt union leadership and for a militant policy, for the amalgamation of the unions upon an industrial basis and for their infusion with a fighting spirit. The TUEL was the crystallization point of all that was healthy and aggressive in the reformist trade union movement. Wherever the workers were in struggle the TUEL was found leading the rank and file against the employers and their tools, the reactionary union officials. In these long and bitter struggles, in which the TUEL militants faced terrorism, expulsion, and the blacklist, the TUEL came to bear not only the best revolutionary traditions of the labor movement, but also to be the object of the deepest hatred from the reactionary union officialdom and the employers.

MAIN EMPHASIS

The reorganization of the TUEL into the Trade Union Unity League marks a new development in the policy of the revolutionary union movement in the United States. It is the expression of the

advance of the American workers to more advanced forms of struggle. The old TUEL placed the main stress upon work within the conservative trade unions. The new Trade Union Unity League puts the principal emphasis upon the organization of the unorganized workers into industrial unions, independent of the A. F. of L., without however slackening the work within the old unions. In the United States, as in all other countries, the unorganized workers become extremely militant and take the lead in the struggle.

The basis for this development in policy is the growing radicalization of the workers, especially the semi-skilled and unskilled, in all industries, their determination to struggle against the rationalization program of the employers and the intolerable conditions it produces, and the total impossibility of their carrying on this struggle within the scope of the employer-dominated old unions. The old unions cannot be used to organize the unorganized. The workers are compelled to organize new unions on the industrial plan, wherewith to conduct their struggle. Hence the recent formation and building up of independent industrial unions in the mining, needle, textile, automobile, shoe, marine transport, and food industries. These organizations have already secured a strong grip in their respective industries. The TUUL puts its chief stress upon the formation of such unions.

TWO SOURCES

The industrial union movement is developing from two sources. The principal source is the direct organization of independent unions amongst totally unorganized workers. But in some instances the new unions arise out of splits from the old organizations. It was by the latter process that the new unions in the mining and needle industries began. The Lewis machine in the United Mine Workers had carried on such a devastating policy of betrayal that the rank and file miners had no choice but to break with this corrupt organization and establish a new body, the National Miners Union. Similarly, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union grew out of a mass expulsion of 35,000 cloak-makers, and another mass expulsion of fur workers, together with the general impossibility of these workers to defend their interests through the Socialist-controlled unions in the needle industry. The National Textile Workers Union, the Automobile Workers Union of Detroit, the Independent Shoe Workers of New York, the Amalgamated Food Workers of New York, the growing union of Marine Workers, and the other independent unions, now being rapidly built for the most part directly out of unorganized workers, are testimonials of the inability of the A. F. of L. unions to organize the unorganized, and the absolute necessity for the establishment of a new system of unionism based upon the principles of the class struggle and capable of actually defending the interests of the workers.

LEWIS GUNMEN

The new unions, born out of big strikes and struggles of the workers, are being built in the face of the bitterest resistance from trustified capital, the State, and the labor bureaucrats.

In the mining fields the gunmen of the coal operators, the UMWA, and the State resisted violently the inroads of the National Miners' Union. In the needle industry the Socialist-employed AF of L sluggers terrorized the militants of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, and the courts sent dozens to jail. In Gastonia, the Southern textile barons, after trying to kill the strikers in their tent colony, are desperately trying to head off the National Textile Workers Union by railroading many of its leaders to jail for long terms. All these violent attacks, which will increase in the coming period, make imperative upon the workers the necessity of organizing defense corps to protect themselves from the assaults of the bosses, gunmen, and gangsters. The TUUL facilitates such organization.

The Trade Union Unity League combines these various unions. It also connects up with them the left-wing groups in the old trade unions. The TUUL takes the initiative in the formation of industrial unions in industries now unorganized. It leads in mobilizing the ranks and file workers in strikes and other struggles both outside and inside the old unions. It wages relentless war against the social reformists. It is the revolutionary union national center.

NATIONAL UNIONS

Nationally, the TUUL is constructed by the affiliation of national industrial unions and of local unions in industries that have no national organization. It also organizes and affiliates national left-wing leagues in all industries where the reformists trade unions

have mass following. The National Committee of the TUUL, elected in its biennial conventions, consists of the National Executive Board of 15 members. The majority of these committee members must be workers actually employed in industry. The TUUL has various national departments, Negro, Organization, Financial, Youth, Women, Education, International, etc. Locally, the Trade Union Unity League sets up Local General Leagues, to which are affiliated local unions, supporting the left-wing program, shop committees and groups of unorganized workers, left-wing groups in the conservative unions and individual workers. The national organ of the TUUL is Labor Unity. The various unions and national left wing groups issue their own papers.

THE NEW CENTER

The strengthening of the Trade Union Unity League national Center is of vital importance to the development of the general struggle of the workers against their class enemies. The AF of L, which pretends to be the working-class center, is in reality an instrument of the bosses to demoralize the workers. It makes no fight against capitalism, but defends it. With the passage of the years and the ever-sharpening difficulties of American capitalism both at home and abroad, the AF of L becomes more than ever an anti-working-class organization. The trade union movement of pre-war days, despite its corruption, backwardness, and general weakness, was a fighting organization in comparison with the degenerate A F of L of today. The American workingclass must set up a real fighting union center against the employers and the social reformists. More and more the Trade Union Unity League will develop as such a center, as the point around which the masses of workers will rally in their struggle against capitalism.

IX. Against Social Reformism

In the very center of the program of the Trade Union Unity League stands a relentless struggle against the social reformist agents of the capitalists—that is, the A. F. of L and Socialist leaders, the Musteites, etc., and their whole program of class collaboration, arbitration, speed-up, anti-strike policies, etc., which systematically hamstrings the fight of the working class.

Social reformism is the main bulwark of the capitalist system. The TUUL fights the social reformists both inside the old unions and among the unorganized masses. The thoroughgoing exposure of the social reformists and the carrying on of a relentless fight against them is a first condition for the building of a militant labor movement and the carrying on of a successful fight against capitalism.

X. Against Imperialist War and For Defense of the Soviet Union

The Trade Union Unity League fights militantly against the impending capitalist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. Its slogan is: "Not a man, not a cent, not a gun for Imperialist War." It seeks to mobilize the great masses of workers against war by organizing strikes, demonstrations, etc., in conjunction with all militant organizations fighting against war. In the event of an Imperalist War it will mobilize the workers to struggle against American imperialism and to transform this war into a class war against the capitalist system itself.

DEFEND SOVIET UNION

The Trade Union Unity League especially organizes and educates the masses to fight in defense of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the stronghold of the world's working class. Its causes is the cause of the workers in all countries. The overthrow of the Soviet Union by the capitalists would mean not only the slaughter of tens of thousands of Russian workers, but would mark the beginning of the worst period of reaction internationally that the world has ever known. It would lead to widespread Fascist terrorism, and wholesale destruction of workers' economic, political, and cultural organizations, and the wiping out of conditions won by the workers through a century of sacrifice and struggle. It would throw back for decades the development of the world's labor movement. The workers must fight to the end in defense of the Soviet Union.

FIGHT WAR DANGER

Fundamentally necessary in the struggle against Imperialist war, for defense of the Soviet Union is an exposure of and fight against the war role played by the social reformists. Their special task is to blind the workers to the impending struggle, to militarize them, and to lead them into the coming slaughter. The social reformists

are the leaders and organizers of the attack against the Soviet Union. Their pacifism is merely that of the capitalist diplomats and propagandists and it has as its main purpose to lull the masses into a false sense of security regarding the war danger.

XI. Against Capitalist Rationalization

The Trade Union Unity League wages a relentless war against the destructive effects of capitalist rationalization. This monstrous system of exploitation is literally consuming the workers in the mad world-wide drive of all capitalist nations for more and more and ever more production at the expense of the workers and for the benefit of the capitalists. Capitalist rationalization profoundly worsens every phase of the workers' life. It inflicts upon the working class vastly increased burdens and hardships of overwork, unemployment, low wages, long hours, sickness, accidents, child labor, super-exploitation of women, driving of old workers out of industry, union disorganization and degeneration, poisonous capitalist propaganda, etc. And to cap the climax, capitalist rationalization, by heaping up mountains of commodities that must be dumped upon foreign markets at any price, vastly sharpens the rivalries between the foreign capitalist countries and thereby greatly intensifies the war danger. The fight against this vicious system of exploitation is the struggle against the capitalist system itself and is the main task of the TUUL.

FIGHT SPEED UP

In its fight against capitalist rationalization, the TUUL relentlessly opposes such reactionary A. F. of L. schemes as the New Wage Policy, the B & O Plan, the Mitten Plan, etc. The substance of all these class-collaboration plans, which are euphoniously called "union-management co-operation" is to surrender the workers to capitalist rationalization. The basic aim of such schemes, of "developing co-operation between the workers and the capitalists to increase production," disarms the workers, and flings wide open the door to the wild speed-up, union wrecking, unemployment, war preparations, etc., that flow from capitalist rationalization. "Union-management co-operation," the official policy of the A. F. of L., is a production speed-up scheme of the employers. Bourgeoise economists like Tugwell, list the A. F. of L. policy as one of the

principal factors in the general speed-up of the American workers, unorganized as well as organized. Such class collaboration degenerates the labor leaders who advocate it into drivers of the workers for the interests of th eemployers. It is the broad, straight road to company unionism.

The Trade Union Unity League categorically rejects all co-operation with employers to increase production. The basic and sole task of a labor union is to defend the interests of the workers, not to help the bosses exploit the workers. "Union-management cooperation" poisons the whole life and purpose of labor unionism. Here the issue between the Trade Union Unity League and the old A. F. of L. unions is clear and sharp. The A. F. of L. unions are capitalist auxiliaries for the intensified exploitation of the workers. The TUUL is an organization to develop the maximum power of the workers to resist the speed-up program of the bosses, and through a fighting policy, to wrest all possible concessions from the employers. It looks toward and prepares for the eventual overthrow of the capitalist system.

R. I. L. U. PROGRAM

The fight against capitalist rationalization involves the whole program of the Trade Union Unity League. The Red International of Labor-Unions, at its Fourth Congress in 1928, worked out the basis of struggle against capitalist rationalization. The RILU program, applying in its general line to the United States as well as to all other capitalist countries, is as follows:

". The maximum 7-hour day without a reduction in wages, and the 6-hour day for underground workers in particularly dangerous and strenuous occupations, as well as for workers under 18 years of age.

2. The rejection of overtime work; early closing before Sundays and Holidays; an annual holiday of a fortnight and not less than a month for underground workers and for those engaged in dangerous trades and particularly strenuous occupations, with the payment of full wages.

3. The fight against wage reductions; the fight for raising real wages; the fight against bonus and piece-rate systems; an increased struggle against piece-rates on the conveyor. Where piece-rates are in force it is necessary to ask for guaranteed minimum wages; the restriction of the rates of output in the terms of the

wage agreements; a struggle against the arbitrary regulation of the pace of conveyors; equal wages for equal work for men, women, and youth.

4. The limitation of the speed of work by the introduction of rest pauses; the right to change the place of work; the struggle against the stop-watch system.

5. A worker may be discharged only by consent of the factory council, or the union local, with the payment of the discharge-benefits, which should be particularly high in the case of mass dismissals; the shortening of the working hours in o rder to prevent dismissals, while paying the same wages as before. The struggle for enrolling the unemployed into the process of production; the payment of state benefits to the unemployed at the rate of the minimum living wage, without distinction of nationality and sex; the remuneration for so-called "relief" work at the current rate of wages.

6. The introduction of legislative orders for the protection of the workers in the factories, as well as all kinds of social welfare measures.

7. The prohibition of the employment of pregnant women and nursing mothers in hard and unhealthy work.

8. The struggle against factory police, pecuniary fines, espionage, blacklists, etc."

The program of the RILU can be further concretized in the United States by the demand for the 5-day week; general wage increases, a minimum wage of at least $35 per week for adult workers, struggle against company unionism in all its forms, full crew regulations on the railroads and in the various industries. The TUUL develops specific programs to combat capitalist rationalization in each respective industry.

Unemployment, one of the great scourges of capitalizm, greatly accentuated by rationalization, is a growing and menacing evil; it will increase with the deepening crisis of capitalism. In the coal mining districts it has reached the point where many thousands of workers are in semi-starvation. The TUUL makes an energetic struggle against unemployment. It demands the shorter work-day and work-week, with compelling the State to maintain the unemployed, equal division of work, full crews in the rationalized processes, etc. The TUUL exposes such fake unemployment programs as that of Hoover, which while pretending to relieve unemployment by regulating building operations, is in reality only an insidious form of the general union wrecking, speed up program of the capitalist class. The TUUL organizes the unemployed. It connects up the organizations and struggles of the unemployed. It exposes the treachery of the social reformists towards the whole question of unemployment, which is essentially that of the bosses.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

The TUUL fights militantly for the establishment of a system of social legislation in the United States as one phase of its general struggle against capitalist rationalization. It demands legislation to provide for the shortening of the work period, sanitation, and safety in industry, the elimination of child labor, unhealthy work for women, etc. It demands also State insurance against unemployment, sickness, accidents, old age, etc., this social insurance to be paid for entirely by the employers and built upon the principle of complete self-management by the insured without any participation by the capitalists, or by the State in the management of the insurance fund.

XII. Organize the Unorganized

The Trade Union Unity League has at its central task the organization of the great masses of unorganized workers into industrial unions based upon the principles of the class struggle. Individually the workers are helpless in modern trustified industry. Only by the creation of powerful fighting organizations with a militant policy can they effectively defend their interests. The fight against social reformism, the war danger, capitalist rationalization, company unionism, Fascism, intolerable wage and working conditions, and against the capitalist system in general, is bound up with the question of organizing the unorganized. The TUUL directly leads and throws all its forces into this fundamental task.

ORGANIZING UNORGANIZED

The work of organizing the unorganized devolves upon the left-wing of the labor movement. The reactionary A. F. of L. leaders are opposed to organizing the great masses of unskilled and semi-skilled into real unions; they base their policy upon betraying these workers for the benefit of the skilled aristocracy and especially for their own personal advancement. The so-called "progressive"

leaders of the Muste type, while making a pretense at organizing the unorganized, are in reality in this period playing the game of the employers by leading masses of discontented workers into the control of the corrupt A. F. of L. leaders, who systematically betray them into the hands of the bosses. Only the militant, revolutionary section of the labor movement, crystallized in and around the TUUL, has the courage, interest, understanding and initiative to organize the great masses of semi-skilled and unskilled.

In this work the TUUL makes united fronts from the bottom with rank and file elements against their Musteite-S. P. leaders and against the controlling bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. The Trade Union Unity League organization program is built primarily around the organization of new industrial unions in the unorganized and semi-organized industries. It does not advise the workers to join the reformist unions except in those industries where these organizations are solidly entrenched and where such a course is necessary in order for them to work in the industry. And this the TUUL does only on the basis of organizing these workers into the old unions for struggle against the dictatorial bureaucrats heading these organizations. To call upon the masses to join the A. F. of L. would be to betray them.

BASIC INDUSTRIES

The Trade Union Unity League concentrates its main organizational efforts upon the basic industries. These are most decisive industries. In this work the TUUL pays special attention to those industries directly connected with war preparations; that is, chemicals, metal, rayon, etc., in order to make an effective fight against the war danger. These industries are almost entirely unorganized. The TUUL also strives to organize the great masses of agricultural workers, one of the most deeply exploited sections of the whole working class.

The Trade Union Unity League devotes major attention to the organization of the workers in the South, which is now becoming rapidly industrialized. These workers, exploited to the bone by the greedy Southern capitalists, and toiling under conditions of semi-peonage, are increasingly ready for organization and struggle. With their big fights in Gastonia, etc., they are now blazing the trail for the American working-class in its struggle against capitalist

rationalization. The A. F. of L. will do nothing for these workers but betray them.

In all its organization campaigns, the TUUL lays real stress upon efforts to unite the Negrotes, youth and women workers. With its affiliated unions, it unites all workers in a given industry regardless of age, race, sex or craft. It organizes the oppressed Chinese, Japanese and Mexican workers. With its policy of setting up preliminary shop committees, establishment of shop papers, etc., the TUUL draws the masses themselves into the direst work of organization.

A FIGHTING POLICY

The great masses of unorganized workers in American trustified industries can be organized into a militant system of unionism only through a process of sharp and bitter struggles against the employers, the State, and the social reformists. The big capitalists will resist with the utmost vigor the establishment of effective labor unions in their industries. Hence, union building in these industries can not proceed upon the slow process customary to the old trade unions, among skilled workers in the lighter industries, but must be based for the most part from the outset upon the precipitation of broad mass struggles for the immediate realization of the burning demands of the workers. This is the general policy of the TUUL.

XIII. Work Among Negroes

The Trade Union Unity League conducts an aggressive struggle in defense of the Negro workers. These are the most oppressed, exploited and persecuted section of the entire working-class. The advancement of the workers generally is inseparably bound up with the advancement of the Negroes. Every blow struck at the Negroes by the bosses is a blow at the whole working class. The TUUL has as one of its most fundamental program points the fight for full racial, political and social equality and the right of national self-determination for Negroes. It makes relentless war against lynching, Jim-Crowism, and discrimination of all kinds against Negroes It roots out the race prejudice of chauvinism of white workers against Negroes, an insidious boss-inspired tendency against class solidarity which is widespread amongst the workers and even to some extent in the left-wing. The TUUL demands

fullest participation and leadership of Negro workers in all the organizations and movements of the working class. A key section of the TUUL's attack upon the anti-working-class program of the social reformists is the thoroughgoing exposure of their systematic betrayal of the Negroes, which constitutes one of the most shameful pages of American labor history.

In its organization campaigns the Trade Union Unity League lays special stress upon the organization of Negro workers, who are playing an increasingly important role in the steel, coal mining, meat packing, railroads, and many other basic industries. To facilitate this work, the TUUL sets up inter-racial committees in the various localities. It organizes Negroes into the new industrial unions with the white workers on the basis of the fullest equality. In the old unions, it combats all discriminatory practices aimed against the Negroes. It demands the admission of Negroes into these unions without discrimination and where this admittance cannot be accomplished and there are no new unions, it organizes separate unions for Negroes. The TUUL has a special national department for work among Negro workers. This department connects up the fight of the Negro workers in this country with the world-wide struggle of the Negro race, through the International Negro Labor Bureau of the RILU. The TUUL endorses and supports the general work of the American Negro Labor Congress.

XIV. Work Among the Youth

The young workers are playing an increasing role in industry and in the struggles of the working class. They are the strategic factor in capitalist war preparations and are being systematically militarized upon a gigantic scale. As the speed-up in the industries increases and the tendency towards the elimination of skill is accentuated, the employers rely more and more upon young workers. By the same token, these young workers become constantly more in evidence as the leaders in the big growing struggles of the industries against capitalist rationalization. In the textile strikes of the South, and in New Bedford and Passaic, and in the fights of the left wing miners and needle workers, etc., the leadership of these struggles was almost entirely in the hands of the youth.

The A. F. of L. leaders, conforming as usual to the general line of policy of the employers, have systematically discriminated against the youth. They have barred them from the unions. They have refused to make a fight against the special and intense forms of exploitation to which the young workers are subjected. They have winked at child labor. They have allowed unhampered the employers and the Government to militarize the youth through C. M. T. C.'s, etc., to poison it through company sports, and to generally cripple it idealogically. They have left the young workers at the mercy of the employers.

The Trade Union Unity League rejects this whole line of the social reformists and puts in the forefront of its program the organization of the youth and the advancement of its interests. It has a national youth department and it establishes youth sections nationally and locally in the new unions. It carries on special activities designed to educate and draw the youth into the class struggles: It raises special youth demands, for the 6-hour working day, and 5-day week, equal pay for equal work, abolition of night work, abolition of child labor, establishment of vacations, minimum wages, apprenticeship regulations, rest periods, etc. It furthers anti-military work amongst the youth and supports the proletarian sport organization, the Labor Sports Union.

XV. Work Among Women

Women workers play an increasingly important role in American industry. With the simplification and mechanization of the industrial process, they are being brought into industry in huge numbers. There are in the United States 8,500,000 women workers of all kinds. Women workers are subjected to the fierce speed-up of capitalist rationalization, and are super-exploited, with worse working conditions and with wages 25 per cent. to 40 per cent. lower than male workers at similar occupations. They work under health-breaking conditions. In the war preparations of American imperialism the mobilization of women workers plays an important part. These workers are subjected to war propaganda and organization from a whole series of capitalist women societies, as well as from the regular channels of the State and the employers for poisoning the minds of the workers.

The trade union leaders have typically failed to make a fight

for the women workers, barring them from the unions and discriminating against them in industry, much as they have done against the youth, the Negroes, and the foreign-born. This is in line with their general policy of conforming their practices to the interests of the employers for the exploitation of the workers. Only an insignificant percentage of the women workers of the United States is organized in the trade unions.

The Trade Union Unity League works to unite the women workers for a joint struggle with the workers generally. It maps out programs of demands for them, embodying equal pay for equal work, general raising of women workers' wages, a minimum wage establishment of 7-hour day and 5-day week, with 6-hour for harmful and heavy occupations, and annual monthly holiday with full pay, prohibition of higher work and overtime, and work in harmful occupations, protection during childbirth periods, instalment of proper sanitary regulations, protection by social insurance against unemployment, old age, sickness, etc. To further these programs, the T.U.U.L. has a national women's department, establishes women's commissions in the unions, and develops periodic trade union conferences for women workers. The winning of the women workers for the class struggle is a major objective of the T.U.U.L.

XVI. Strike Relief and Labor Defense

Strikes in modern trustified industries are to be won primarily by the paralyzing effects of vast masses of workers exerted militantly at strategic points, and not by the systematic payment of high strike benefits customary in the reformist unions of skilled workers. Nevertheless, in every mass strike there are huge and imperative financial needs of the workers which must be satisfied at all costs. The Workers International Relief, systematically supports this phase of the workers' struggle by mobilizing the financial and other forms of support of the masses of workers in general for workers on strike or subjected to mass unemployment, destitution through floods, etc. Every great strike of the workers finds the W. I. R. actively engaged in bringing relief to the struggling masses and carrying to the working class generally the political meaning of the struggle. The T.U.U.L. supports the work of the Workers International Relief.

An aggressive and systematic defense of class-was prisoners is also a fundamental necessity for the workers in the class struggle. For this an established defense organization is required. The capitalists, as a settled policy, attempt to demoralize the workers by imprisoning and executing their best fighting militants. This is the rule of American imperialism the same as of Italian fascism. It is exemplified by the whole host of Sacco-Vanzetti, Mooney-Billings, Ford-Suhr, Haymarket, Everett, Centralia, etc., labor cases. Now, the capitalists, following this policy, are attempting to execute or railroad to jail 23 of the textile workers, left-wing leaders in Gastonia, who had the courage and intelligence to defend themselves from the armed attacks of the gunmen of the textile bosses. The T.U.U.L. endorses and collaborates with the International Labor Defense, which educates and organizes the working-class to support its fighters who are persecuted by the capitalist class.

XVII. International Working-Class Unity

The Trade Union Unity League joins hands with the militant workers of the world in their struggle against world imperialism and the war danger. It condemns the maneuvering abroad of the American Federation of Labor as the imperialist strategy of the American State Department. The T.U.U.L. condemns the reformist Amsterdam International as the splitter of the international labor movement and a tool of world imperialism against the masses of workers in the imperialist countries and against the colonial peoples. It is a definite imperialist means for the preparation of war.

The T.U.U.L. affiliates itself with the Red International of Labor Unions. It joins hands with the militant workers of the world for international trade union unity. Under the leadership of the R.I.L.U., it takes its place, shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary workers in the Soviet Union, in China, in Europe, in all countries in the world proletarian struggle against imperialism.

The T.U.U.L. makes common cause with the workers of Latin-America, and the Philippines against American imperialism. It especially sets up close working relations with the Canadian and Mexican left-wing movements in their struggle against their exploiters. It condemns the Pan-American Federation of Labor as a tool of American imperialism for the subjugation of Latin-

America. It supports the Latin-American Confederation of Labor and affiliates with the All-America Anti-Imperialist League in their fight against American imperialism.

The T.U.U.L. is also affiliated to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat which unites the workers of the Eastern countries in defense of the Russian, Chinese and Indian revolutions, and against world imperialists generally. The T.U.U.L. enters into the closest bonds of solidarity with the Russian workers, leaders in the developing world proletarian revolution.

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Fight Against Imperialist War.
Defend the Soviet Union.
Fight Against Capitalist Rationalization.
Organize the Unorganized.
For the 7-hour Day, 5-day Week.
For Social Insurance.
For Full Racial, Social and Political Equality for Negroes.
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